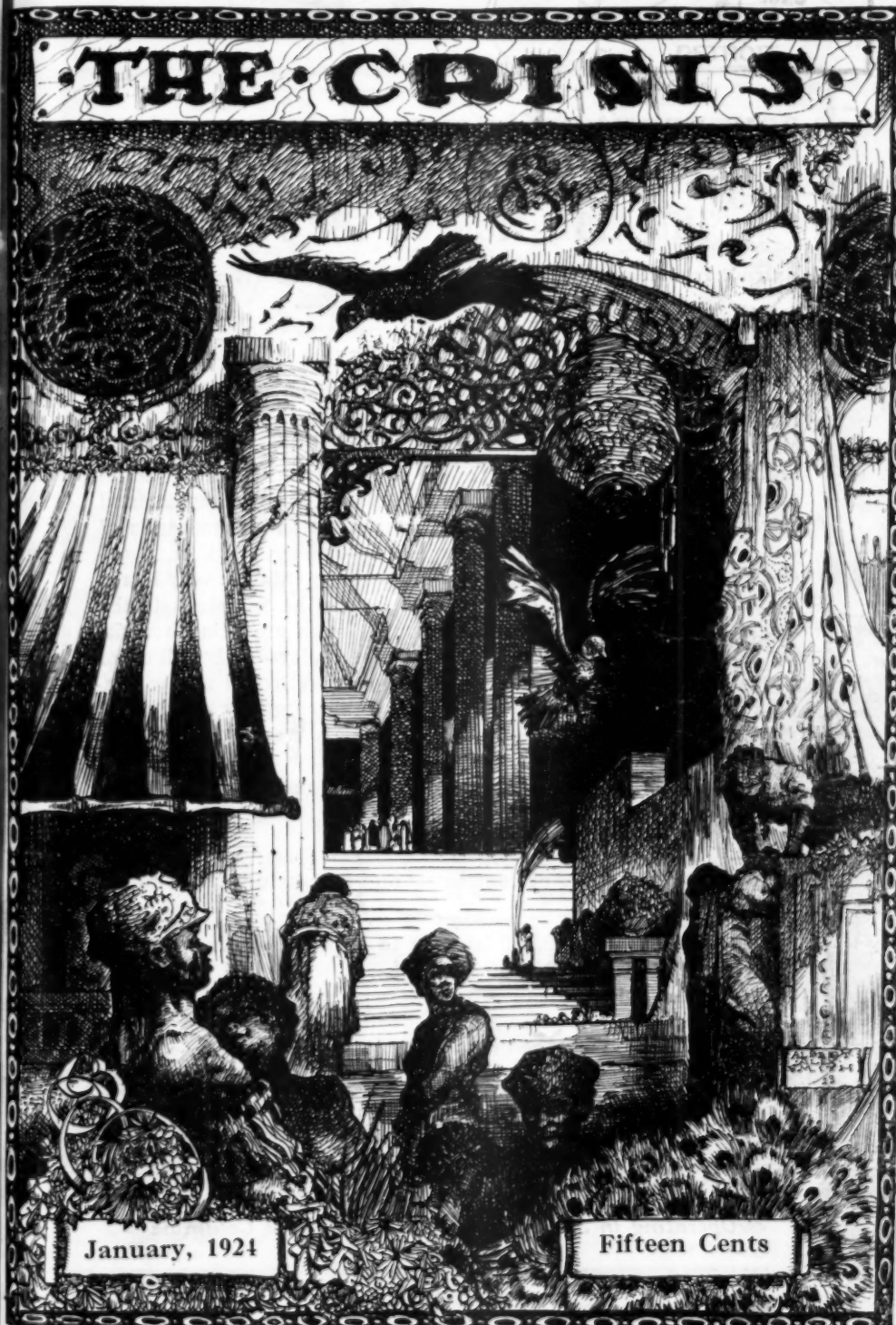
THE CRISIS



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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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THE FEBRUARY CRISIS

The February CRISIS promises unusual features—"The Negro in Dramatic Expression" by Raymond O'Neill; "The German Youth Movement" by Jean Corbie; and a discussion of the Younger Literary Movement among Negroes by Dr. DuBois and Alain Locke. There will be book reviews and the cover will be by Laura Wheeler.

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 27. No. 3 JANUARY, 1924 Whole No. 159

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

A WORD FOR THE NEW YEAR

WHEN I was asked to write a greeting for the New Year's CRISIS, I had a full-fledged editorial at once ready to put on paper. It was an editorial that started with the war and the opportunities that had been opened to Negroes and ended with an appeal to retain and increase these opportunities by aggressive, organized action. And then I went to a dinner given to Roland Hayes and the editorial with its arguments dropped utterly from my thoughts, swept away by this great singer's personality. Mr. Hayes spoke only five minutes, but in that time he gave us the secret of his success as an artist. I can only poorly and haltingly reproduce a few of his words. "I do not think of myself as colored," he said, "as brown or black, I do not believe that this is of importance. I strive to express that which is within me, that which brings me in deepest contact with others, regardless of race." No, I cannot recall his words, but I can see his gleaming eyes and sense his intense sincerity. Here is a man who feels the mighty current of creative life, who wills to move in it, not in a little side eddy but in the great stream. And he knows, as a true artist must know, that only as he is in this stream of universal life can he reach his highest expression. It is for us to give thanks that he has held to his ideal; and we look to-day with wonder and delight as he sings in the auditoriums of Richmond and Raleigh and other southern cities, facing the audiences that have honored Paderewski, Heifetz, teaching black and white to forget their antagonisms in a common joy.

"And love is shelter from the rain
And scowling stormy skies;
Who casts off love must break his heart
And rue it till he dies."

So sings Countée P. Cullen, winner of the second prize in the Witter Bynner undergraduate poetry contest. Here is a young colored poet who has shown extraordinary talent. He, too, sees the necessity of living in the great stream, but in an interview with a *Times* reporter, he says: "In spite of myself, I find that I am actuated by a strong sense of race consciousness. Although I struggle against it, it colors my writings, I fear, in spite of everything that I can do." Well, if it does, this youth will be just that much less a poet. Controversy, propaganda have their places, but an artist is not at his greatest when he pleads a special cause. Milton wrote excellent Puritan tracts, but we thank God that before he became a politician he gave us *L'Allegro* and *Lycidas*.

But this is queer New Year's doctrine for one to write who leads a cause that is largely propaganda! I can see the raillery in the eyes of many of my readers. Well, my justification is that the propagandist hopes some day to finish a disagreeable but necessary task, and thereby to leave the artist untrammeled by caste. We

fight his battles with the only weapons that we are capable of wielding. Ours is not a pretty task but it is a useful one. And in the mean time, while antagonisms are still rampant, we may occasionally feel a great wave of happiness as we see a Negro artist transcend race, move in that stream of life that ignores racial barriers, that strives for the expression of beauty,—that beauty which our greatest English poet has told us is truth, and all we need to know.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON.

NEGRO COLLEGES

THE trustees of the John S. Slater Fund have issued a report of Negro universities and colleges by W. T. B. Williams. The report includes 33 institutions who are doing some college work. Twelve of these schools have from 20 to 100% of their non-professional students in college. The three institutions at the head of the list are Howard and Lincoln with 100% and Fisk with 64%. Eight institutions have more than 100 college students, led by Howard with 895, Fisk 273, Wilberforce 249, and Lincoln 220. Eight other institutions have from 50 to 100 college students. There are all together 3,264 students of college grade, 67% of whom are in the 8 largest institutions. All these schools, except six, require 15 units of work for admission; these six require 16. In studies, less Latin and little Greek is required; modern languages, history and the social sciences are gaining in favor and the sciences are increasing greatly. On the whole, the Negro college seems to be advancing but the endowment is lamentably and dangerously small. Ten have no endowment at all, ten others have less than $100,000, six others are from $100,000 to a quarter of a million and only one has an endowment of over one-half million. They are supported, this report says, mainly from "private philanthropy" but this does not take sufficient account of what the Negro students themselves pay in.

MR. B. WEEVIL

THE top of the morning to Mr. Boll Weevil! We knew him but slightly — nodding acquaintance so to speak—until a number of our best friends, mostly pale Southerners who loved us madly, introduced us the other day. It seems we have misunderstood Mr. Weevil. We thought him a mere bug, but pshaw! he is the man who put the "grate" in "mi-grate", that caused all these hundreds of thousands of Negroes to hurry North in the last few years. We had been mistakenly informed that lynching, poor schools, petty insult, industrial oppression, "Jim Crow" cars and other little matters of opinion and argument were the cause of our black friends' leaving the South; but we were all wrong; we were all wrong and we have it on the authority of 378 editorial writers of the chief rural weeklies of the South, not to mention Mr. Shaffer of the *Atlantic Monthly*. In fact, we understand that Negroes enjoy being lynched; that they thrive on insult and would rather give their wage to "ole massa" than to take it themselves. The "Jim Crow" cars are quite to their liking; and as for schools—"Well, what's the use of schools anyway?" says the Sterling Discrimination Bill to black folk. But Mr. Boll Weevil is another proposition altogether. When he waved his hand, the Negro flew. We doff our bonnets to Mr. Weevil and remark, as the poet hath it: "He sure is some powerful guy."

MR. REMMEL

FOR real hard sense commend us to Mr. H. L. Remmel, Republican National Committeeman of Arkansas. Mr. Remmel dropped in to see the President the other day and asked after his

family and brought up the matter of Negroes leaving the South. He also imparted to the President the new and unusual information that the "best friend of the Negro is the Southern white man who knows him". Therefore, says Mr. Remmel, says he, why not stop this migration by a law of Congress? We agree with Mr. Remmel exactly and the law which we recommend to his earnest and prayerful attention is the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill.

PROPAGANDA

NOTHING is more interesting than to read the carefully prepared propaganda upon which the British Empire thrives. For instance, the *Daily Mail* publishes a despatch "from our own correspondent" at Nairobi, British East Africa. It is, of course, quite necessary for the future of the white race to prove that the poor heathen in this part of the world not only are not civilized but that they cannot be educated. And to prove that this is so, the following extract is printed:

"Our Teso correspondent sends the following:

Here is a delightful and an exact copy of a letter written in English by a Bateso teacher, who is about 15 years old: "Dear Sir, I trust you are well? Sir I have written this letter to you, I think you are healthy this days. I greeting you every indeed! My prefer is the Jesus Christ. Sir well done your worked you have done all days. Sir I hope to come to see you another time it is every well, if God He loves us it will be on happy to us. Sir, I am every pleased you for my a presents you have did gave me last days two Sh. 2.00 I thank you every much to giving me them. Sir I greet you again loving from to me. I am your prefer in the Son of God Jesus Christ I love you."

"Our own correspondent" observes:

"It is rather pathetic to observe how he has acquired the surface of learning and religion which he mixes without the faintest indication of how to apply his knowledge."

And, after this observation, he philosophizes:

"That Africans may become educated, in the sense of being able to read and write and think on a higher plane than in their savage state, is an accepted fact. But that this degree of mental advancement approximates to the level of a European who has had similar facilities for education is quite another thing."

And there you are. What hope is there for the black man after this? The only thing that you can do is to capitalize him, stand on his neck and export from Kenya Colony alone annually $25,000,000 worth of cotton, hides and skin fibres, coffee, grain and oil, copra, ivory, rubber and wool. And lest there be any flaw in this argument, the *Daily Mail* proceeds to add a very gloomy account of Liberia.

THE CONGO

THE other day, a young white man called upon us. He was an average American, straightforward, not college-bred but business-like and frank. He said that he had just returned from the Belgian Congo where he had been working with the Ryan Interests. Our attention was held because much was said sometime since of the fine way in which, with Mr. Ryan as leader, United States capital was about to enter Africa and develop things. According to this young man's story, developments in the Congo Diamond Mines of Kasai are proceeding apace. In fact in some respects they went so fast that this young man could not stand them. For instance, he did not think that an unoffending native woman ought to be beaten with the rhinoceros hide whip called *chicot*. When he saw it, it sickened him so that he resigned. But the consulting engineer, Mr. Charles W. Boise and Mr. R. E. Blosser and others urged him not to leave but Mr. Mulligan insisted and wrote them:

"When I told you that Kirk gave the woman three *chicots* over the breast, and, when I showed disapproval, then handed the *chicot* to the capita who slashed her at least twenty times more on all parts of her body, I do not think I exaggerated; to the contrary I think I underestimated the number. Twice or thrice during the *chicotting* the woman closed in on the capita and dragged the *chicot* away from him (the most pitiable

scene I have ever witnessed in my life). This only tended to infuriate Kirk more, who aided the capita in getting the *chicot* back, the capita continuing with his noble assignment. I do not care anything about the framed evidence you may now have. My story is exactly as I repeated it at the time, to which no heed was taken.

"Last night you stated that in the sense of the word it was not *chicotting*, as the woman did not lie down for her brutal punishment. I do not agree with you. If a man dies from a bullet wound inflicted by another person, whether he is sitting, standing or running I do not think alters the case . . . There's no way out of it, he has been shot. Position in life may alter cases, but the position for brutal punishment does not.

"In conclusion I will say that last night I felt humiliated and hurt to think that even you did not see the righteousness of the whole matter and think that Kirk should be reprimanded for his misbehavior. I believe that Moody right under the skin 'knows I am right' but feels indebted to Mrs. Kirk. Perhaps if God had spared his baby, he might be able to see how my ideals and finer sensibilities got the better of me. . . A mother of a babe in arms being *chicotted!* . . . The world is all wrong! I also believe that had Mr. Doyle been acting for the Company in your stead last night he would have tried more tactful and diplomatic methods. I am positive that he would not have attempted a third degree in browbeating fashion. He is all human. I still contend that a native woman should not be *chicotted*, and regret that I cannot write a letter of the tone you requested."

Thereupon, Mr. Mulligan wrote the following letter of resignation which was accepted by G. D. Mordin, managing engineer, and Mulligan came home:

"In accordance with our conversation of yesterday I hereby resign my position with the Forminière and request to be returned home, due to the following reason:

"I do not agree with the management's viewpoint as regards the *chicotting* of a native woman. I do not think it should be tolerated and can only consider it an American atrocity.

"I regret that after eighteen months of 'Hell' in Tshikapa I cannot stay the balance of my term, but such an incident, besides the ill feeling towards me that my expressions of sympathy for the native woman has caused, makes it necessary for my own personal reasons that I resign."

All of which goes to show that the "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave" is "doing" Africa as badly as ever Belgium did.

THE CRISIS BOOK CLUB

MY friend regarded me sweetly and said: "I am going to read your book just as soon as I can get it out of the library." I gave an exact imitation of the "Great Stone Face" which is perched on some mountain in these United States. Why is it that intelligent people will not buy books? This is not only true of intelligent colored people, it is true of intelligent white people. If a book in the United States sells one hundred thousand copies, we go wild with excitement and yet that means that only one in every one thousand people have bought the book. Among our own group, it is unusual for one thousand books of any kind and on any subject to be sold to twelve million Negroes. This is not sheer stupidity, it is simply bad habit. We buy our own hats and would not think of borrowing hats and yet, I suppose a circulating hattery could make one thousand hats do for ten thousand people. We buy our own shoes, usually our own umbrellas, and quite often our own newspapers. But as for books! Whom do you know who regularly every year buys one, two or three good books? Or, (to get right down to brass tacks), how many books did *you* buy last year?

THE CRISIS during the year 1924 is going to establish book buying clubs and if possible to publish the names of their members. We are going to see how many readers of THE CRISIS are willing to sign the following pledge:

"As an intelligent human being who wishes to preserve the thought and experience of the world and of my own people, I hereby solemnly promise to buy during 1924—new books and to keep these books in my personal library for reading and continued reference.

Signed ....."

Upon receipt of these blanks signed we shall gladly give further information concerning the Crisis Book Clubs.

MAY DAY, DAYTONA NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE

A TOURIST IN FLORIDA

CLARA G. STILLMAN

THE first time I went South I lay for months on a porch in an open pine grove near a small lake, seeing and hearing only what came my way. Sunshine streamed about me, dancing prismatically among the long, green needles, sparkling on the water and cloud castles, irradiating the air with a soft, brilliant clarity. This sun-drenched air, I thought, was like no other I had known. It was suave, languorous and light, gentle and gay as a caress. It made one feel tender and close to all creation. It was the soul of Florida.

A Negro passed through the clearing. He was tall, thin and black. He walked slowly and stiffly, looking straight ahead. Sweat glistened on his cheek bones; his skin received the sun with jet-like glitter. In that golden flood, in the humming silence, he moved, sharply-etched, self-contained. Beyond the trees the silence was broken by drifting laughter and song and the soft clink of bricks. Negro workmen laying a street into the wilderness; deep voices, humorous and warm. I lay drowzing in a harmony of sun and sound, with that dark, silent figure a barely perceived undertone. Then, from the edge of the forest another sound pierced the air, the indescribable wail of the mourning dove. The five notes were repeated again and again, persistent, fateful. For the time they blotted out everything else.

After a while I began to go into the city. It was a resort with an atmosphere of perpetual holiday. Amusement was the main business of life. The social sun there was as bright as the physical. But there were

shadows. They hovered, in the main, on the edge of the sunlit area, but sometimes they fell across one's path with a disconcerting chill. I went into the street cars and saw dark forms and some not so dark, relegated to the rear. Large signs proclaimed the division between us. I sat in tropical parks listening to music. No Negro could sit in those parks to hear those sounds. I walked into public libraries, meagerly equipped, as a rule, but the best the community had to offer. No Negro could share that best. Of course there is nothing new in this. Theoretically it was not new to me. But those first impressions of the actuality of the segregation were as sharp and shocking as if I had never heard of its existence.

In that holiday world Negroes did all the work. For this purpose the color bars were lifted and one came into intimate contact. They washed one's linen, handled one's food, carried one's children in their arms. But after all, they *didn't* do all the work. Northern tourists were squeamish. It was rather elegant to announce in a hotel advertisement "Northern white help". Later, elsewhere, I found variations on this theme—economic color lines in process of formation. In one place colored men picked and packed oranges; in another this was white man's work. In one city, white barbers were trying to drive out black competitors from the work traditionally theirs. "Your fellow man—Color for Color," read their alluring hand-bill. "Come and See Us. Other White Men Do. No Negro Barbers." In some towns Negroes could not be public chauffeurs; in others, the economic color line was seasonal, as in the building trades, monopolized by Northern white labor during the winter months. White exclusiveness in employment resulted in the building up of business within the colored race. But on the other hand, white merchants did not wish to lose their colored customers, who often represented a valuable cash trade. Negro business men also saw the advantage of distributing their patronage among white as well as black. Interracial contacts were useful, and economic pressure could be exerted at times with excellent effect.

But of all these cross currents in a troubled sea I knew nothing at first. I knew only what I saw—two worlds living side by side, hostilely divided, yet interpenetrating at many points, knowing little of each other, except the worst; knowing that all too thoroughly. The white world, with its extraordinary blind spot, never really saw the other. It went mumbling certain phrases like incantations:—"Niggers—shiftless—lazy—steal anything—can't trust 'em—like children—like animals." Occasionally, a kindlier voice varied the tune: "Our darkies good—faithful—devoted—think a lot of them—know how to treat them—nurse 'em when they're sick—do anything for us." One felt almost grateful for this until, on probing, one found that, fundamentally, the attitude of *these* was not after all very different from the attitude of *those*. They did not want to torture and kill, but they wanted to stunt mentally, to withhold, to suppress. Education to raise the lower levels of the race? Levels, whose undesirable traits, typical of all submerged, unskilled groups, were regularly cited as racial? Oh no, that's where you were all wrong. "They themselves don't want it—Happier without—Can't absorb it." Vague references to vaguer statistics—"The Negro mind—mental age generally about twelve—Many successes, you say?"—They hesitated, then, triumphant, "Educated Niggers are the worst of all—Think they're as good as a white man—No ma'am, doesn't do to educate 'em."

Clearly there was not much to be gotten from fellow travelers and casually met natives. And yet this is all that most tourists get. The number that comes in contact with a more enlightened opinion, or investigates for itself, is infinitesimal. Such an opinion exists, of course, but it is comparatively rare and ineffective. The best element is largely inactive in public life.

Later, on many occasions, I found opportunities to become acquainted to some extent with life on the other side of the veil. I was a visitor in homes, schools and churches. I met people in various walks of life, was present at social gatherings, made friends. I came away enriched like a traveler in a strange land who feels the charm of physical and social differentness, and thrills to the still greater discovery of spiritual likeness inhabiting this difference. Of the many impressions I gathered I can give here only a very few. It was in the schools that I found what to me appeared the most significant and hopeful element in the col-

PLAYGROUND HOUR, DAYTONA NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE

ored life of Florida. In the schools the strongest and most farseeing personalities are concentrating their efforts for the development and emancipation of the race.

First, there is the effort to supplement the public school system in order to bring it as nearly as possible to an equality with the white. Florida spends $30 per capita on white school children, $5.75 on colored. The situation in a nutshell, and a good example of how some colored communities are meeting it, is found in the letter sent out last winter by the teachers, students and patrons of the Palatka High School in an effort to prolong the term from six months to the standard eight. Present actual conditions are listed as follows: Short school term, Poor equipment, Poorly paid teachers, Poor play grounds, No domestic science or manual training, Lack of supervision, Overcrowded class rooms, No gymnasium, Unsystematic work, Poor incentives for scholastic attainments. Net results: Lost boys and girls, Disgraced homes, Loss of community pride, Retardation of the fair civilization of America. "This effort," it adds, "to raise $2,000 to pay teachers for two months will help save 500 children from the thraldom of ignorance, superstition and vice."

At the Tampa High School colored citizens have had to raise among themselves money for chairs and electric wiring. The equipment still lacks many essentials. This sort of activity is typical of the larger centres. But even here, as always, it is a minority that is wise and energetic enough to see the need and try to fill it. It has to cope with the inertia of large masses of its own race and the indifference or hostility of the white. In the rural districts, and Florida is still largely rural, colored school conditions are almost incredibly bad. In some counties the schools are open only three or four months. A few have no schools at all.

Far better, however, than the fragmentary patching of the public schools, the denominational and privately endowed schools represent the constructive effort for racial advancement. Edward Waters College at Jacksonville, under the auspices of the A.M.E. Church, with 492 students and 28 teachers, is unique in being supported entirely by Negroes. It receives no money from any white source. Last year about $70,000 was spent on running expenses and expansion. It has a normal course and a theological seminary and the first two years of a standard college course. It expects, eventually, to add the others and to round out its curriculum in every possible way. Its principal, Dr. John C. Wright, formerly teacher of English at Tuskegee and for seven years Dean at the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College—the State College at Tallahassee—is a scholar and a man of vision.

(To be continued)

THE BLACK MAN AND THE WOUNDED WORLD

A History of the Negro Race in the World War and After

W. E. BURGHARDT DUBOIS

Chapter 1. *Interpretations*

WHAT is the ruling power in any given country? Speaking modernwise most would say Public Opinion. But this of course is a loose and inaccurate term. Opinion is individual. No "Public" can have an "opinion". The figure of speech is permissible but easily and crassly misleading. It is the power, wishes, opinion of certain persons which rule the world. These Dominant Wills may rule by physical force, or superior intelligence or greater wealth or logical persuasion, and consequently may be regarded as Dominant Powers or Dominant Wishes or Dominant Intelligence or Highest Good—but always whatever rules exhibits itself as Will—action, effective deed.

To these Dominant Wills, be it the Will of One, or the Agreements of Many—of a Minority or of a Majority, and be it put in power by chance, force or reason—there must be, as long as it rules, the Submission of all individuals to its mandates. In these Current Submissions of individual men lies the core and kernel of modern ethical judgment of group action.

The effort to make these acts of submission free individual judgments is the movement toward Freedom. But Freedom is always restrained by the fear that the dethroning of the Dominant Wills at any time —that is, the refusal of a large number of persons to submit to a particular opinion or set of opinions—will result in the partial or total overthrow of civilized society, before enough submissions acknowledge, and thus enthrone, another Dominant Will. It is this fear of anarchy that leads to the persistent opposition to the right to challenge the Dominant Wills. The Right of Challenge is Democracy, and to Democracy the momentarily Dominant Wills are almost always opposed, particularly if dominion is based on force or bribery.

If the Dominant Wills are based on reason why should they fear universal Challenge—universal Democracy? Because most people are too inexperienced to get at the truth and too ignorant to reason correctly on given data. This ignorance can be corrected by universal education, but the Dominant Wills sometimes (1) do not believe in the possibility of educating all folk; (2) have desires and ambitions which can be satisfied only by the persistence of ignorance among the mass.

Thus the Dominant Wills in most periods of history have opposed the Challenge of Democracy because they desire the ignorance of most men. And they defend this desire by the assertion or even passionate belief that most men must and should be ignorant if civilization is to prevail.

Here then lies the heart and kernel of all social and political problems at any time. First we must ask whose is this Dominant Will? Then, is there any right of challenge and who can and does exercise the right? What is the attitude of the Dominant Will toward the increased intelligence and efficiency of men?

In the first quarter of the 20th century, the Dominant Wills in most lands are the wills of those persons who are seeking Incomes as distinguished from Wages and who are, by training, masters of the intricate organization of modern commerce and industry. The distinction between Income and Wage is of course not absolute, but Wage usually means a direct return for personal effort, while Income is the return which one commands by reason of his property rights or influence or social power. It is the almost universal ambition of men today to receive sufficient Income so as to make personal exertion on their part unnecessary—in other words, as we say, they desire to be "independent".

The income-receiving persons form a small but intelligent and highly specialized minority of men, while the mass of men are wage-earners or community workers in unorganized industry. So powerful and persuasive is this ruling class that most people identify its will with civilization and its industrial aims with life itself. Industry is life—commerce is government, they say openly or silently. Now modern industry

requires (1) large accumulations of tools, machines, materials and transition goods and (2) regular skilled labor working over large areas of time and space synchronized with machine-like co-operation. The result is great income in goods and services which the Dominant Wills may allocate as they wish; and since the *raison d'être* of the present supporters of the Dominant Wills is the desire to share largely in this income, present government tends to support and develop the rich.

To this tendency is opposed the interest of the majority of men who are wage earners or in unorganized or primitive industry. What Right of Challenge have they before the Dominant Will? The democratic movement of the 19th century gave a few of them (the men in organized industry) a nominal right to challenge legally and at regular intervals the Dominant Wills. This Right to Vote—a mighty landmark in the advance of Man, and one which every group achieves sooner or later, or dissolves—is the beginning and not the end of democracy and meets at the outset baffling difficulties and limitations. These are chiefly (1) Ignorance (2) Propaganda (3) Law and Custom.

(1) Human society in its industrial, religious, aesthetic and other aspects is a tremendously intricate mechanism. Few even of the most intelligent grasp it thoroughly and most men have no adequate conception of it. When now the Dominant Wills of a society form a trained group led by their selfish interests as well as their intelligence and ideals to fasten themselves in power, the ignorant mass has small chance of using their vote with enough intelligence to dislodge them without catastrophe to the State. The evident remedy for this is Education, the formal training of Children, the higher training of Youth, and the broader training of Citizens by experience, information, contacts and art—in other words the spread of Truth.

(2) But the spread of Truth is undertaken today by Propaganda. Now the dissemination of Truth presupposes normally a group of absolutely impartial Truth Bearers or Teachers or Priests or Prophets who know the Truth and who quite impartially and persistently make all free of it who will listen. But Propaganda is the effort not necessarily to spread the Truth, but to make people BELIEVE that what they hear is true; and to the propagandist any means which will accomplish this end of passionate, of unwavering and of forcible uncritical belief is justifiable. This is a dangerous but a very widespread method of public teaching today and what makes it most dangerous is the use which it makes of the Lie.

Lying is so dangerous an enemy to organized human life that usually it is regarded as an absolutely unjustifiable instrument of human advance. Yet manifestly everyone admits certain extreme cases when a deliberate Lie can be defended; and many are willing to use a partial truth to gain a good end while millions are willing without any attempt at investigation or corroboration to assume as true anything that they passionately wish to be true. Propaganda then, with large use of the deliberate Lie, the Half Truth and the Unproven Wish, has become a tremendous weapon in our day and is used particularly by the Dominant Wills to establish themselves in power by voluntary limitation of the Right of Challenge, or in other words by limiting the right to vote or the votable questions or the general field of democratic government. By this means most people today are convinced that the matters of work, wages and organized industry are quite beyond the possibility of democratic control and always will be; while a goodly number believe that the inter-relations of great nations can never be matters of open popular decision and many think that the making and interpreting of laws is not a matter for the average voter to have a voice in.

(3) Finally Law systems greatly impede democracy. Law is the attempt to reduce to logical statement the Dominant Will of the day. This is an exceedingly difficult task in itself but it is made more difficult because both the statement and the interpretation of the statement's meaning in particular cases are in the hands of technicians. These technically trained lawyers are dominated on the one hand by a mediaeval desire for perfections and consistency which makes them slaves to the precedents of dead centuries, and on the other hand they drift largely into the pay and control of the dominant income-seeking classes.

Thus ignorance, propaganda and custom-

ary law have so delimited the field of practical political democracy that it has become a very ineffective method of challenging the rule of the Dominant Wills. At the same time the rule of the Income-seekers has become peculiarly oppressive and dangerous, and for this reason the call for democratic control becomes more and more insistent. To repeat: In order to understand modern civilized life one must realize the conflict which has arisen between the Income Seekers and the Wage Earners. The great accomplishment of the 19th century was the organization of work—the far gathering of raw materials, the making of tools, machines and production goods and the synchronizing of effort. The result is a marvelous triumph of human skill and efficiency in making available a miraculous amount of consumptive goods and human services. If these goods and services had been designed for and applied to satisfying the highest wants of the mass of men our advance in culture would have been tremendous. It has been great despite the fact that the annual output of goods and services is arranged mainly to satisfy the wants of a small but powerful minority of the civilized world.

The power of this minority arises from their monopoly of finished goods, materials and production goods, which enables them largely to determine what goods shall be produced and what services paid for and at what rate, and also the ownership of the goods and services. This tremendous power —by far the greatest of modern days, and overshadowing most political power—has been successfully challenged with very great difficulty. The hindrances are: the widespread ignorance of the industrial process; the desire of most men to share this vast power rather than curb it; the use of widespread propaganda to prove the impossibility of any fundamental change in the control of industry. In this way Democratic control has been largely kept out of industry and the owners of goods and materials have become the almost unchallenged Dominant Wills of the World.

Almost, but not quite, unchallenged, for the wage-earners have begun the challenge. The wage-earners are those whose work is determined and wages fixed by the Income-Owners. There are among them a large number of Income-Seekers—i. e. those who wish not so much to curb the power of the Income Owners as to share their spoils. But gradually there has grown up among them an opinion that the wage system is right and the income system wrong, that every one should work and be paid for the work, and that the ownership of materials and productive goods should vest in the democratically controlled state. Meantime, however, before this thought became clear in their minds, their practical protest was against the amount of wages allotted them. It was too small for decent living or the rearing of children, especially when contrasted with the riches and power of the industrial world. At first they were answered that the rate of wages was not a matter of will but of natural law. Wages could not be increased save by reducing the number of laborers, by starvation, cataclysm, or voluntary restraints. This the laborers refused to believe. They tried to use political power, but were baffled by ignorance, law and propaganda.

Waters dammed in one direction burst their bounds in other and unexpected places. Democratic control, baffled in electing officials and law-making, found a new weapon in the Strike and Boycott. That is, realizing that the heart and centre of the Income-Seeker's power was his synchronizing of the industrial process over wide areas coupled with control of materials and machines, the hand workers sought to stop their coöperation and to refuse to work or refuse to buy at such critical times and places as would compel consideration of their wishes.

Propaganda and legal obstacles were for years used against the Strike, but after a century it has become a recognized weapon of offense by Wage-Earners against Employers. The open warfare of the Strike gradually softened into the parleys of the Labor Union and the Corporations; then came the shop committees and Coöperative buying, and there was foreshadowed the syndicalist control of factories and Coöperative production.

This development stimulated political democracy by educating the voters in the intricacies of industrial organization and giving them experience in group work. More political activity and more effective voting appeared so that the State itself was forced not only into some general control

of Industry but even into undertaking certain lines of industrial activity. Industrial Democracy or rather Democracy in Industry seemed the swiftly approaching goal of civilization at the opening of the 20th century.

But the Dominant Wills of the Income Seekers were moving to wider conquests and had been for nearly fifty years, and the very triumphs of Industrial Democracy furnished an opportunity. Beginning with the African Slave trade a world commerce had grown up. Like national industry it began haphazard and was gradually organized and systematized. Gradually the local and national industrial systems tended to become cogs in the wheel of an international industrial organization. The basic foundations of this vaster set of enterprises were: (A) The ownership of vast areas of "colonies" inhabited by semi-civilized people; (B) Slave labor or peons without wage; (C) A monopoly of valuable raw material; (D) A monopoly of transportation facilities. On this foundation it was proposed to build a national set of industries, and in these industries the wage earner would be pacified by high wages and even allowed some measure of democratic control. In other words the Dominant Wills proposed to share some of their economic power with the laborers in return for the political consent of the Laborer to the policy of conquest, slavery, monopoly and theft in Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Central and South America.

This New Imperialism has widely prevailed and its way has been cleared by a new Propaganda. This Propaganda bases itself mainly on Race and Color—human distinctions long since discarded by Science as of little or no real significance. But this false scientific dogma which the 18th century rejected with avidity making freedom the basis of a new and world wide Humanity has been revamped by 20th century Industrialism as an Eternal Truth, so that most modern men of the masses believe the advancement of civilization necessarily involves slavery, lust and rapine in Africa.

With scarce an articulate word of protest then the world in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was hurriedly divided up among European Countries and the United States into colonies owned or controlled by white civilized nations, or "spheres of influence" dominated by them. To the casual glance of most folk this was simply a process of civilizing barbarians, "protecting" them and "developing" their resources. But its real nature is manifest when we ask, "For whose benefit is this New Imperialism of the white over the darker world?" Before 1914 the world answered with shrill accord, "For the benefit of the whites!" And they believed, thanks to organized Propaganda, that the salvation of Civilized Europe lay in the degradation of Uncivilized Africa and the subjection of the Balkans, Asia and the islands of the sea.

Since 1914, we are less assured. Since 1914 we have begun to fear lest our theory of exploitation of the semi-barbarians may not necessarily involve our own glorification. And this because in allocating the spoils of the Earth, Europe fell into a jealous quarrel that nearly overthrew Civilization and left it mortally wounded. Some there are still who see in this greatest catastrophe which the world ever knew simply a failure to agree. They argue that if Germany had not been so greedy and had been satisfied with the domination of Asia Minor, half of Portuguese Africa, and part of the Belgian Congo; and if Austria had been content with Bosnia and Herzegovina, and had not coveted Serbia, Roumania and most of the Balkans—that in this case the world industrial dominion under England, Germany, France, Italy and the United States could have been established and maintained. But is this true? On the contrary, it is a very doubtful truth. This God-defying dream had a thousand seeds of disaster: not simply a hundred recurring points of disagreement in colonial expansion and development, but the inevitable future reaction of the wage earners of Europe and the natives of the colonies.

Sooner or later Europe would learn two facts: (1) The dullest European wage-earner will gradually come to see that by upholding Imperial Aggression over the darker peoples by his political vote and his growing economic power he is but fastening tighter on himself the rule of the Rich; (2) Not even the most successful Propaganda, aided by Pseudo-Science and human hatred, can forever keep the white wage-earner from realizing that the victims of imperial greed in Asia and Africa

are human beings like himself—suffering like him and from like causes, held in degradation and ignorance and like him, too, capable of infinite uplift and of ruling themselves and the world.

The Crisis then was bound to come. It did come in 1914-18. The Great War was a Scourge, an Evil, a retrogression to Barbarism, a waste, a wholesale murder. It was not necessary—it was precipitated by the will of men.

Who was to blame? Not Germany but certain Germans. Not England but certain Englishmen. Not France but certain Frenchmen. All those modern civilized citizens who submitted voluntarily to the Dominant Wills of those who ruled the leading lands in 1914 were blood guilty of the murder of the men who fell in the war. More guilty were those whose acts and thoughts made up the Dominant Wills and who were willing to increase their incomes at the expense of those who suffer in Europe and out, under the present industrial system. There is no dodging the issue. Guilt is personal. Deed is personal, Opinion and Will are personal. Systems and Nations are not to blame—individuals are to blame. Individuals caused the Great War, did its deviltry and are guilty of its endless Crime.

* * *

ON account of its length and its frankly pro-Negro attitude, it is possible that Dr. Du Bois' history of the Negro in the World War will have to be published by subscription. In this case the possibility of publication will depend on the number of persons willing to subscribe. If you are interested will you sign and return the appended blank or one similar to it?

The undersigned is interested in the publication of "The Black Man in the Wounded World" by Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois and would like details as to its size, cost and date of issue when these matters have been determined on.

Name .....

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SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE NEGRO

(*Concluded*)

CLAUDE MCKAY

RUSSIA, in broad terms, is a country where all the races of Europe and of Asia meet and mix. The fact is that under the repressive power of the Czarist bureaucracy the different races preserved a degree of kindly tolerance towards each other. The fierce racial hatreds that flame in the Balkans never existed in Russia. Where in the South no Negro might approach a "*cracker*" as a man for friendly offices, a Jewish pilgrim in old Russia could find rest and sustenance in the home of an orthodox peasant. It is a problem to define the Russian type by features. The Hindu, the Mongolian, the Persian, the Arab, the West European—all these types may be traced woven into the distinctive polyglot population of Moscow. And so, to the Russian, I was merely another type, but stranger, with which they were not yet familiar. They were curious with me, all and sundry, young and old, in a friendly, refreshing manner. Their curiosity had none of the intolerable impertinence and often downright affront that any very dark colored man, be he Negro, Indian or Arab, would experience in Germany and England.

In 1920, while I was trying to get out a volume of my poems in London, I had a visit with Bernard Shaw who remarked that it must be tragic for a sensitive Negro to be an artist. Shaw was right. Some of the English reviews of my book touched the very bottom of journalistic muck. The English reviewer outdid his American cousin (except the South, of course, which could not surprise any white person much less a black) in sprinkling criticism with racial prejudice. The sedate, copperhead "Spectator" as much as said: no "cultured" white man could read a Negro's poetry without prejudice, that instinctively he must search for that "something" that must make him antagonistic to it. But fortunately

MR. McKAY FLYING FROM PETROGRAD TO THE FORT OF KRONSTADT

Mr. McKay did not offend our susceptibilities! The English people from the lowest to the highest, cannot think of a black man as being anything but an entertainer, boxer, a Baptist preacher or a menial. The Germans are just a little worse. Any healthy looking black coon of an adventurous streak can have a wonderful time palming himself off as another Siki or a buck dancer. When an American writer introduced me as a poet to a very cultured German, a lover of all the arts, he could not believe it, and I don't think he does yet. An American student tells his middle class landlady that he is having a black friend to lunch: "But are you sure that he is not a cannibal?" she asks without a flicker of a humorous smile!

But in Petrograd and Moscow, I could not detect a trace of this ignorant snobbishness among the educated classes, and the attitude of the common workers, the soldiers and sailors was still more remarkable. It was so beautifully naive; for them I was only a black member of the world of humanity. It may be urged that the fine feelings of the Russians towards a Negro was the effect of Bolshevist pressure and propaganda. The fact is that I spent most of my leisure time in non-partisan and anti-bolshevist circles. In Moscow I found the Luxe Hotel where I put up extremely depressing, the dining room was anathema to me and I grew tired to death of meeting the proletarian ambassadors from foreign lands, some of whom bore themselves as if they were the holy messengers of Jesus, Prince of Heaven, instead of working class representatives. And so I spent many of my free evenings at the Domino Café, a notorious den of the dilettante poets and writers. There came the young anarchists and menshevists and all the young aspiring fry to read and discuss their poetry and prose. Sometimes a group of the older men came too. One evening I noticed Pilnyak the novelist, Okonoff the critic, Feodor the translator of Poe, an editor, a theatre manager and their young disciples, beer-drinking through a very interesting literary discussion. There was always music, good folk-singing and bad fiddling, the place was more like a second rate cabaret than a poets' club, but nevertheless much to be enjoyed, with amiable chats and light banter through which the evening wore pleasantly away. This was the meeting place of the

frivolous set with whom I eased my mind after writing all day.

The evenings of the proletarian poets held in the Arbot were much more serious affairs. The leadership was communist, the audience working class and attentive like diligent, elementary school children. To these meetings also came some of the keener intellects from the Domino Café. One of these young women told me that she wanted to keep in touch with all the phases of the new culture. In Petrograd the meetings of the intelligentzia seemed more formal and inclusive. There were such notable men there as Chukovsky the critic, Eugene Zamiatan the celebrated novelist and Maishack the poet and translator of Kipling. The artist and theatre world were also represented. There was no communist spirit in evidence at these intelligentzia gatherings. Frankly there was an undercurrent of hostility to the bolshevists. But I was invited to speak and read my poems whenever I appeared at any of them and treated with every courtesy and consideration as a writer. Among those sophisticated and cultured Russians, many of them speaking from two to four languages, there was no overdoing of the correct thing, no vulgar wonderment and bounderish superiority over a Negro's being a poet. I was a poet, that was all, and their keen questions showed that they were much more interested in the technique of my poetry, my views on and my position regarding the modern literary movements than in the difference of my color. Although I will not presume that there was no attraction at all in that little difference!

On my last visit to Petrograd I stayed in the Palace of the Grand Duke Vladimir Alexander, the brother of Czar Nicholas the Second. His old, kindly steward who looked after my comfort wanders round like a ghost through the great rooms. The house is now the headquarters of the Petrograd intellectuals. A fine painting of the Duke stands curtained in the dining room. I was told that he was liberal minded, a patron of the arts, and much liked by the Russian intelligentzia. The atmosphere of the house was theoretically non-political, but I quickly scented a strong hostility to bolshevist authority. But even here I had only pleasant encounters and illuminating conversations with the inmates and visitors, who freely expressed their views against the Soviet Government, although they knew me to be very sympathetic to it.

During the first days of my visit I felt that the great demonstration of friendliness was somehow expressive of the enthusiastic spirit of the glad anniversary days, that after the month was ended I could calmly settle down to finish the book about the American Negro that the State Publishing Department of Moscow had commissioned me to write, and in the meantime quietly go about making interesting contacts. But my days in Russia were a progression of affectionate enthusiasm of the people towards me. Among the factory workers, the red-starred and chevroned soldiers and sailors, the proletarian students and children, I could not get off as lightly as I did with the intelligentzia. At every meeting I was received with boisterous acclaim, mobbed with friendly demonstration. The women workers of the great bank in Moscow insisted on hearing about the working conditions of the colored women of America and after a brief outline I was asked the most exacting questions concerning the positions that were most available to colored women, their wages and general relationship with the white women workers. The details I could not give; but when I got through, the Russian women passed a resolution sending greetings to the colored women workers of America, exhorting them to organize their forces and send a woman representative to Russia. I received a similar message from the Propaganda Department of the Petrograd Soviet which is managed by Nicoleva, a very energetic woman. There I was shown the new status of the Russian women gained through the revolution of 1917. Capable women can fit themselves for any position; equal pay with men for equal work; full pay during the period of pregnancy and no work for the mother two months before and two months after the confinement. Getting a divorce is comparatively easy and not influenced by money power, detective chicanery and wire pulling. A special department looks into the problems of joint personal property and the guardianship and support of the children. There is no penalty for legal abortion and no legal stigma of illegitimacy attaching to children born out of wedlock.

There were no problems of the submerged

lower classes and the suppressed national minorities of the old Russia that could not bear comparison with the grievous position of the millions of Negroes in the United States to-day. Just as Negroes are barred from the American Navy and the higher ranks of the Army, so were the Jews and the sons of the peasantry and proletariat discriminated against in the Russian Empire. It is needless repetition of the obvious to say that Soviet Russia does not tolerate such discriminations, for the actual government of the country is now in the hands of the combined national minorities, the peasantry and the proletariat. By the permission of Leon Trotsky, Commissar-in-chief of the military and naval forces of Soviet Russia, I visited the highest military schools in the Kremlin and environs of Moscow. And there I saw the new material, the sons of the working people in training as cadets by the old officers of the upper classes. For two weeks I was a guest of the Red navy in Petrograd with the same eager proletarian youth of new Russia, who conducted me through the intricate machinery of submarines, took me over aeroplanes captured from the British during the counter-revolutionary war around Petrograd and showed me the making of a warship ready for action. And even of greater interest was the life of the men and the officers, the simplified discipline that was strictly enforced, the food that was served for each and all alike, the extra political educational classes and the extreme tactfulness and elasticity of the political commissars, all communists, who act as advisers and arbitrators between the men and students and the officers. Twice or thrice I was given some of the *kasha* which is sometimes served with the meals. In Moscow I grew to like this food very much, but it was always difficult to get. I had always imagined that it was quite unwholesome and unpalatable and eaten by the Russian peasant only on account of extreme poverty. But on the contrary I found it very rare and sustaining when cooked right with a bit of meat and served with butter—a grain food very much like the common but very delicious West Indian rice-and-peas.

The red cadets are seen in the best light at their gymnasium exercises and at the political assemblies when discipline is set aside. Especially at the latter where a visitor feels that he is in the midst of the early revolutionary days, so hortatory are the speeches, so intense the enthusiasm of the men. At all these meetings I had to speak and the students asked me general questions about the Negro in the American Army and Navy, and when I gave them the common information, known to all American Negroes, students, officers and commissars were unanimous in wishing that a group of young American Negroes would take up training to become officers in the Army and Navy of Soviet Russia.

The proletarian students of Moscow were eager to learn of the life and work of Negro students. They sent messages of encouragement and good will to the Negro students of America and, with a fine gesture of fellowship, elected the Negro delegate of the American Communist Party and myself to honorary membership in the Moscow Soviet.

Those Russian days remain the most memorable of my life. The intellectual Communists and the intelligentzia were interested to know that America had produced a formidable body of Negro intelligentzia and professionals, possessing a distinctive literature and cultural and business interests alien to the white man's. And they think naturally, that the militant leaders of the intelligentzia must feel and express the spirit of revolt that is slumbering in the inarticulate Negro masses, precisely as the emancipation movement of the Russian masses had passed through similar phases.

Russia is prepared and waiting to receive couriers and heralds of good will and interracial understanding from the Negro race. Her demonstration of friendliness and equality for Negroes may not conduce to promote healthy relations between Soviet Russia and democratic America, the anthropologists of 100 per cent pure white Americanism may soon invoke Science to prove that the Russians are not at all God's white people. I even caught a little of American anti-Negro propaganda in Russia. A friend of mine, a member of the Moscow intelligentzia repeated to me the remarks of the lady correspondent of a Danish newspaper: that I should not be taken as a representative Negro for she had lived in America and found all Negroes lazy, bad and vicious, a terror to white women. In Petrograd I got a like story from Chukovsky, the critic, who was

on intimate terms with a high worker of the American Relief Administration and his southern wife. Chukovsky is himself an intellectual "westerner", the term applied to those Russians who put Western-European civilization before Russian culture and believe that Russia's salvation lies in becoming completely westernized. He had spent an impressionable part of his youth in London and adores all things English, and during the world war was very pro-English. For the American democracy, also, he expresses unfeigned admiration. He has more Anglo-American books than Russian in his fine library and considers the literary section of the New York *Times* a journal of a very high standard. He is really a maniac of Anglo-Saxon American culture. Chukovsky was quite incredulous when I gave him the facts of the Negro's status in American civilization.

"The Americans are a people of such great energy and ability," he said, "how could they act so petty towards a racial minority?" And then he related an experience of his in London that bore a strong smell of *cracker* breath. However, I record it here in the belief that it is authentic for Chukovsky is a man of integrity: About the beginning of the century, he was sent to England as correspondent of a newspaper in Odessa, but in London he was more given to poetic dreaming and studying English literature in the British Museum and rarely sent any news home. So he lost his job and had to find cheap, furnished rooms. A few weeks later, after he had taken up his residence in new quarters, a black guest arrived, an American gentleman of the cloth. The preacher procured a room on the top floor and used the dining and sitting room with the other guests, among whom was a white American family. The latter protested the presence of the Negro in the house and especially in the guest room. The landlady was in a dilemma, she could not lose her American boarders and the clergyman's money was not to be despised. At last she compromised by getting the white Americans to agree to the Negro's staying without being allowed the privilege of the guest room, and Chukovsky was asked to tell the Negro the truth. Chukovsky strode upstairs to give the unpleasant facts to the preacher and to offer a little consolation, but the black man was not unduly offended:

"The white guests have the right to object to me," he explained, anticipating Garvey, "they belong to a superior race."

"But," said Chukovsky, "*I* do not object to you, *I* don't feel any difference; we don't understand color prejudice in Russia."

"Well," philosophized the preacher, "you are very kind, but taking the scriptures as authority, I don't consider the Russians to be white people."

PLANTATION PROVERBS OF "UNCLE REMUS"

MABEL BYRD

IN these days of materialism we judge men mostly by their works, wealth, and deeds. This is both just and right when the men to be judged are far, far removed from even a hint of serfdom; when the men have been educated from generation to generation, when men are not bound by shackles of hate and prejudice. But in judging the ante-bellum Negro of the South in attributing traits and characteristics to him, I do think that taking into consideration his thoughts, his unconscious expressions of wisdom, would be not only justice but also kindness to him. Contrary to the opinion of some critics of the Negro, the ante-bellum Negro did think; and the expression of his thoughts in the plantation proverbs, is the embodiment of truths of great value. They express in epigram and aphorism the wit and wisdom of the slave, learned not in books but in the hard school of experience.

It remained for Joel Chandler Harris, who is remembered as one of the five social historians of America, to compile these proverbs in his book, "Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings". He has done the student of history an inestimable service in preserving the plantation proverbs uttered by "Uncle Remus", a type of the Southern Negro. He has unravelled a whole realm of Negro psychology in these homely truths.

As a parallel to the much-quoted present day saying "Pride goeth before a fall", "Uncle Remus" says, "De proudness un a man don't count win his haid's cole". Pride is a characteristic of all races. Else why should a race seek to become better than his brother race? "Uncle Remus" particularizes instead of generalizing. Therein lies a fundamental slave trait—he saw the small comparatively unimportant side of life first. "Fall" is comprehensive; "haid" is so absurdly commonplace that we laugh at the mere suggestion. No doubt it was uttered by "Uncle Remus" in all seriousness.

The forethought of the race is suggested by this apt proverb, "Moon may shine but a lightered knot's mighty handy". There is embodied in this aphorism a skepticism of the continuity of the properties generally associated with the elements. However skepticism is not limited to the elements but takes in life in general. The Negro of the Civil War and Reconstruction had learned through experience that it was unwise to put his whole faith and confidence in a man or in an undertaking, however bright it seemed.

That belief of his in luck, in voodooism, in spirits has not yet been lost in the fifty years of freedom. A great many of the Southern Negroes of today believe with "Uncle Remus" that Good Luck says, "Opin yo mouf en shet yo eyes". His cheerfulness is indicated not so much by the presence of "good" but by the absence of "bad". He is and was optimistic. The humor of it lies in the quaintness in which he represents "Good Luck" not so much a personification as a real live "sure-enough" being.

The philosophy of "Uncle Remus", his ability to bear disasters, disappointment, to suffer privations and pain without outward sign is evident in this widely known proverb, "Troubles is seasonin'. Simmons ain't good twel dey er fros'bit". Just how much suffering the solemn quoting of that epigram covered would be hard to say. But we do know that while the "Uncle Remuses" of Mr. Harris' imagination and actual knowledge were loyal, true-hearted, happy beings yet they hated the chill of chains and suffered the yoke of slavery more than we can know. And, when his children were sold from him and he was left alone on the plantation; or when he was sent far away from his kith and kin, his philosophy came to his aid in the crisis and helped him bear the burden of life. In modern times, when his crops fail, when frost actually does harm his "'simmons", he does not cry out against fate but rather in his own mind knows that, whatever happens, it is for the betterment of himself and kind.

Again, we have an evidence of his keen wisdom when he says, "Watch out w'en yo' er gittin' all yo' want. Fattenin' hogs ain't in luck". His meaning is cynical; it portrays a distrust of the continuity of good fortune yet does not by any sign pessimistically indicate a belief in bad fortune.

Of the reverence and supreme worth of motherhood, "Uncle Remus" was fully aware. Judging from this proverb, "Rooster makes mo' racket dan de hen wat lay de aig", an "Uncle Remus" of Civil War times would surely have believed in woman having her "say" while a modern "Uncle Remus" would not hesitate a moment over the question of woman's suffrage. His love for home is evinced by the observation, "Hit takes two birds fer to make a nes'". No man ever realized the truth of that saying more than he who uttered it, for the home and homelife of the slave was violated by the rude hands of the slave auctioneer.

Mr. Samuel Creed Cross has said that "the Negro has shown the greatest generosity and philanthropy of any people in the history of the world since man has kept a record of events. His charity, public and private, knows no bounds". "Uncle Remus" verifies this statement when he observes that it's a "mighty po' bee dat don't make mo' honey dan he want fo' hisself". The hospitality of the Southern Negro is especially hearty and his evident joy in sharing his all brings to one's mind Longfellow's "Not what we give but what we share".

The plantation proverbs and the Negro folk songs represent the mind and soul of the ante-bellum Negro. This subject of Negro traits and characteristics as revealed by the proverbs is by no means exhausted; it is a broad one and to go into it further requires a thorough knowledge of psychology and a more comprehensive study of the ante-bellum black man together with an intensive survey into the conditions of the Afro-American.

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AT THE LONDON SESSIONS OF THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS *International*
Miss Emma Smith Dr. John Alcindor Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

THE third biennial sessions of the Pan-African Congress were held in the Council Chamber of Denison House, London, England, November 7th and 8th. The chief speakers were Harold Laski of the London School of Economics, Mrs. Ida Gibbs Hunt, wife of the United States Consul at St. Etienne, France, Dr. Du Bois, Editor of THE CRISIS and founder of the Pan-African Movement, Kamba Simango of Portuguese East Africa, Bishop Vernon of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. John Alcindor of London, Chief Amoah III of the Gold Coast Africa, and Sir Sidney Olivier, former governor of Jamaica. Mr. H. G. Wells was present as a guest. Mr. Rayford Logan and Mr. B. F. Seldon were leaders of the discussions which followed the program.

The following resolutions were passed:

The Executive Committee of the Third Pan-African Congress, meeting in London and Lisbon in November, 1923, regards the following matters as those which seem to them to embody the legitimate and immediate needs of the peoples of African descent.

1. A voice in their own government.
2. The right of access to the land and its resources.
3. Trial by juries of their peers under established forms of law.
4. Free elementary education for all; broad training in modern industrial technique; and higher training of selected talent.
5. The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
6. The abolition of the slave trade and of the liquor traffic.
7. World disarmament and the abolition of war; but failing this, and as long as white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defence.
8. The organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labour the welfare of the many, rather than the enriching of the few.

These seem to us the eight general and irreducible needs of our people.

Specifically and in particular we ask for the civilized British subjects in WEST AFRICA and in the WEST INDIES the institution of home rule and responsible government, without discrimination as to race and color.

We ask for such areas as NORTHERN NIGERIA, UGANDA and BASUTOLAND, a development of native law, industry and education with the specific object of train-

ing them in home rule and economic independence, and for eventual participation in the general government of the land.

We ask for FRENCH AFRICA the extension of the citizenship rights of voting and of representation in Parliament from Senegal and the West Indies to other parts of the colonies as rapidly as the present comprehensive plans of education can be realized.

We demand for KENYA, RHODESIA and the UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA the restoration of rights to the land to the natives, a recognition of their right to a voice in their own government and the abolition of the pretension of a white minority to dominate a black majority, and even to prevent their appeal to the civilized world.

In the BELGIAN CONGO we fail yet to see any decisive change from a regime of profit making and exploitation to an attempt to build modern civilization among human beings for their own good and the good of the world. We demand a system of state education, the recognition of native law, a voice in government and the curbing of commercial exploitation in that great land.

For the independent nations of ABYSSINIA, HAITI and LIBERIA we ask not merely political integrity but their emancipation from the grip of economic monopoly and usury at the hands of the money-masters of the world.

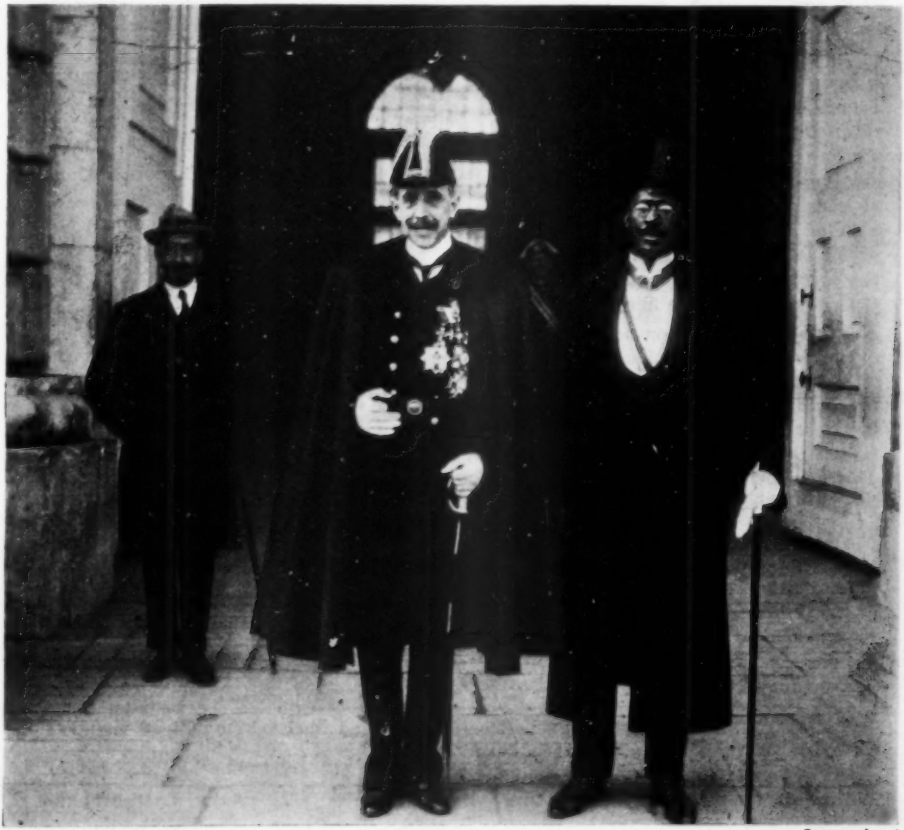
For the Negroes of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA we ask the suppression of lynching and mob-law, the end of caste and the recognition of full citizenship despite race and color.

We demand the restoration of the EGYPTIAN SUDAN to an independent Egypt.

We demand for PORTUGUESE AFRICA release from the slave-trading industrial monopolies financed in England and France which today nullify the liberal Portuguese Code in Mozambique.

We urge in BRAZIL AND CENTRAL AMERICA that peoples of African descent be no longer satisfied with a solution of the Negro problem which involves their absorption into another race without allowing Negroes as such full recognition of their manhood and right to be.

We ask the LEAGUE OF NATIONS to appoint direct diplomatic representatives in



International

AT EXTREME RIGHT, PRESIDENT C. D. B. KING OF LIBERIA, WHO IS BEING INAUGURATED FOR HIS SECOND TERM IN JANUARY, 1924. DR DU BOIS IS NOW VISITING LIBERIA.

the Mandated territories with duties to investigate and report conditions.

We ask the appointment of representatives of the NEGRO race on the Mandates Commission and in the International Labor Bureau.

In fine, we ask in all the world that black folk be treated as men. We can see no other road to Peace and Progress. What more paradoxical figure today fronts the world than the official head of a great South African State striving blindly to build Peace and Good Will in Europe by standing on the necks and hearts of millions of black Africans.

For the Third Pan-African Congress,
(Mrs.) Ida Gibbs Hunt,
Rayford Logan,
W. E. B. Du Bois.
Committee.

II.

THE French Committee about whose presence at the Congress there had been some doubt sent, however, delegates to London. Dr. Du Bois pointed out that the difficulty in getting the unqualified support of the leaders of the French Negro group lay in the fact that they look upon themselves as Frenchmen first and as Negroes second. In justice to the rank and file of French Negroes it must be said that they themselves showed at the Paris sessions of the Pan-African Congress in 1921 the keenest desire to co-operate. It is their political leaders who hang back, whether for reasons of self-interest, or those of politics, or for lack of funds as they asserted when the preparations were being made for this Congress—it would be hard to say.

To avoid a repetition of the temporary *impasse* which the sudden and unexpected defection of the French group caused,—for the arranging of the Third Pan-African Congress had been in their hands and their failure to act entailed the removal of many difficulties before the present sessions could be held—the following propositions were offered:

For the future organization of Pan-African Congresses and co-operative effort between groups of African descent, the executives of the Third Pan-African Congress propose:

1. That the Pan-African Association of Paris continue its existence as a Pan-African Committee for France and French Colonies. That a Committee be appointed by the Pan-African Association of Paris to audit carefully the accounts and authorized expenses of the Paris office and to communicate the amount of the deficit to the Pan-African Committees hereinafter provided for.
2. That Pan-African Committees be established at the earliest opportunity in London, Portugal, British West Africa, the British West Indies, the United States of America, in the Union of South Africa, Brazil, Haiti and Liberia.
3. That these Committees through correspondence arrange—
   (a) For holding and financing the Fourth Pan-African Congress in 1925;
   (b) For contributing towards paying the past indebtedness of the Pan-African Association in Paris up to November, 1923;
   (c) For disseminating information concerning the Black World.

III.

THIRTEEN countries were represented at the London sessions of the Third Pan-African Congress. A second sitting of the Congress was held at Lisbon, Portugal, December 1st and 2nd. There is a flourishing organization of Portuguese Negroes in Lisbon—the *Liga Africana*—and their president, José do Magalhaês, was largely instrumental in bringing the Congress to that section of the world.

It is too early for us to be able to report on the meeting at Lisbon but we are able to publish this cable from Dr. DuBois which comes to us as we go to press:

"Successful sessions at Lisbon. Eleven countries represented. Former and present colonial ministers spoke. Parliamentary Deputy presided."

A detailed account of all sessions of both sittings of the Congress will be presented in these columns on the return of Dr. Du Bois.

RENCONTRE

Jessie Fauset

MY heart, which beat so passionless,
Leaped high last night when I saw you.
Within me surged the grief of years
And whelmed me with its endless rue.

My heart which slept so still, so spent,
Awoke last night—to break anew.

National · Association · for · the · ... Advancement · of · Colored · People.

THE DYER BILL

ON Monday, December 3, Congress convened. The first measure introduced, H. R. 1, was the anti-lynching bill by Mr. Dyer. The legal committee of the N. A. A. C. P. through Mr. Storey, Mr. Herbert K. Stockton of New York, Mr. Albert E. Pillsbury of Boston, former attorney-general of Massachusetts, and other eminent legal authorities have been in consultation with Mr. Dyer for several months, assisting him in making the bill so air-tight that all possible objections to it may be removed. It is planned to push the measure aggressively and secure its passage by the House of Representatives at the earliest possible moment. Mr. Dyer feels confident that this can be done. The most difficult part of the struggle will as in the last session of Congress be in the Senate where the bill was defeated by the determined filibuster of Southern senators and the apathy and cowardice of certain Republican senators from Northern states.

The N. A. A. C. P. is urging upon all those who are interested in this great cause to prepare now for an aggressive and unremitting campaign. It is asking every person who is opposed to mob violence and lynching to write to his congressman and to the senators from his state asking them for a definite assurance regarding their attitude towards the Dyer Bill. One thing and one thing only moves office holders—the desires of their constituents. There is a tremendous sentiment throughout the country for enactment of the Dyer Bill at this session of Congress but we must let the members of Congress know that this demand does exist. They are particularly sensitive to such urging at this time because of the imminence of the 1924 elections. So write *today*—if we let them know that voters are expecting and demanding early passage of the anti-lynching bill, it will be passed.

One of the elements in favor of the measure is the reported support of the bill by President Coolidge. On November 12th the N. A. A. C. P. wrote the President urging him to include a strong recommendation in his message to the Congress that the Dyer Bill be passed without delay. In part that letter stated:

"There is no matter on which the colored people of the United States have felt so strongly and so unitedly since the Emancipation Proclamation as the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. . . . . Colored people feel that the issue of the Dyer Bill was not decided on its merits in the last Congress, for the Southern Democratic senators declined to let the Bill be even discussed after its passage in the House, and the Republican senators virtually acquiesced in the high-handed tactics employed by the Southern senators in enforcing their decision.

"The facts concerning lynching were laid before the country in the House debates reported in the Congressional Record. Colored people feel, therefore, that the time for investigation is past; that a definite step must now be taken by the Federal Government in the face of thirty-five years of failure by the states and in the growing disrespect for government and civilization that is the product of unchecked mob activity.

"We are, therefore, venturing to hope that in your message to the Congress you will make some definite and forcible pronouncement in this sense and call upon the Congress to pass this vital piece of legislation. . . . . "

This letter also cited the declaration in the platform of the Republican Party adopted in 1920 urging Congress to consider the most effective means of ending lynching. At the time this is written, December 1st, it is not known what action the President will take upon this request. It has been reported in the press, however, that President Coolidge is in favor of anti-lynching legislation. If that is true the prospects for the bill's early passage are brighter.

FINANCING THE FIGHT AGAINST LYNCHING

THE N. A. A. C. P. during the fight last year in the Senate for the Dyer Bill conducted the most effective educational campaign against lynching ever known in the

United States. At a cost of but $6,980.92 the Association inserted advertisements giving the facts about lynching in eleven newspapers and magazines of high character and wide circulation, published in strategic sections of the country, and with a combined circulation of 2,357,854. It is estimated that upwards of ten million persons were reached in this fashion, most of whom had never known the truth. It is hoped that this can be done again and in a much broader and more effective manner this year. There are thousands of white people who will gladly join in a movement to abolish lynching if only the facts can be placed before them in such manner that the usual belief can be corrected that all lynchings, for example, are for the one crime of rape. We want to be able to purchase space in white and colored newspapers and magazines throughout the country and by so doing arouse America until an overwhelming demand for the passage of the Dyer Bill may be created.

But to do this costs money and big money. If colored people and the white people who are interested will only do what they can to help, we can arouse America to such an extent that many years of work can be accomplished in one. Such a fund could be raised in a few days if only the need were seen clearly enough—if only the hearts of the people were stirred. For example, on Thanksgiving Day some 27,000 persons from all parts of the country attended a football game at Philadelphia. Ten dollars apiece would be an exceedingly conservative estimate of the cost to each person for new clothes, railroad fares, hotel bills, ticket of admission to the game, and social activities. *This means that $270,000 was spent in a single day for pleasure!* Just consider what one-fifth of this amount for pleasure would accomplish if expended for spreading the truth about lynching! Instead of ten million people we could reach from fifty to seventy-five millions—put the Dyer Bill through Congress and render everlasting benefit to the Negro and the country at large instead of furnishing pleasure to the few.

Does pleasure mean more to the Negro than justice? Is an afternoon's recreation of greater moment than the ending of the burning of human beings at the stake?

Those who want to help bear the burden of financing a publicity campaign and the cost of the intensive and absolutely necessary work at Washington and throughout the country which will make the Dyer Bill law are urged to send to the N. A. A. C. P., 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City, their contributions to the Anti-Lynching Fund *today*.

THE ARKANSAS CASES NEARLY ENDED

WHAT will probably be one of the last steps in the famous Arkansas Cases took place in November when the death sentences of Frank Moore and five co-defendants with Moore—cases on which the United States Supreme Court rendered so notable a decision last February—were commuted by Governor Thomas C. McRae of Arkansas to terms of twelve years each in the Arkansas State Penitentiary.

The cases of Frank Moore and of five others formed the group on which the United States Supreme Court reversed the action of the Federal Court of the Eastern District of Arkansas in refusing a writ of habeas corpus. The latter court was ordered to inquire into the facts stated in the appellants' petition in which it was charged that their trials were so dominated by a mob that a fair trial was impossible. After considerable delay and when it seemed as though still greater delay would prevent this rehearing ordered, the Arkansas authorities were asked in a petition signed by white citizens of Phillips County to offer a commutation to short prison terms to the men. This was done with the result stated above.

According to the Arkansas law these men are entitled to apply for parole immediately as the commutation carried with it the proviso that the time served in prison from 1919 to date by the men should apply on their twelve-year sentences. It is hoped and expected that within a few months they, too, will be free men again.

Of the sixty-seven men sentenced to long prison terms fifty-nine have been freed through the efforts of the N. A. A. C. P. attorneys and through release on parole. It is expected that the other eight will also soon be liberated and then all of the original seventy-nine victims of the terrible riot will have been freed.

Three great points stand out in this victory. First, the lie that Negroes organized

to kill white people has been scotched for all time. It is not at all improbable that had this fight not been made, Negroes could have been slaughtered in similar fashion in future and the excuse given that they, "like the colored farmers in Arkansas in 1919, had organized to kill white people". If this seems improbable one need only consider the fact that many otherwise fair-minded white people in the United States believe that every lynching is for rape.

Secondly, a blow has been struck at the unjust economic system of the Southern states under which Negro share-croppers and tenant-farmers are robbed of millions of dollars annually.

Thirdly, the United States Supreme Court decision in these cases is, in effect, a reversal of the decision of that court in the famous Leo Frank case where it was ruled that so long as a court went through the form of a trial and where there was adequate appellate resource, the Federal Government could not interfere even though it were proved that the trial was dominated by a mob. The decision in the Arkansas Cases is, as has been said, practically a complete reversal of that former decision so that now, as Mr. Louis Marshall who was attorney for Leo Frank puts it:

"Due process of law now means, not merely a right to be heard before a court, but that it must be before a court that is not paralyzed by mob domination."

Perhaps even above these results, there stands the fact that but for the N. A. A. C. P. these twelve men, remembered only as murderers and criminals, would long since have turned to dust in their graves.

ANNUAL MEETING

IN the December issue of THE CRISIS we gave the report of the Nominating Committee for members of the Board of Directors for terms expiring December 31, 1926. The Committee is glad to report an additional member whose acceptance came too late for insertion in that issue. Mr. Louis Marshall of New York, eminent authority on constitutional and corporation law, and member of the firm of Guggenheimer, Untermyer and Marshall, has accepted the invitation of the committee to serve on the Board of the N. A. A. C. P. Mr. Marshall's name will be voted upon at the annual meeting which is to be held on Monday, January 7, 1924, at the offices of the Association, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

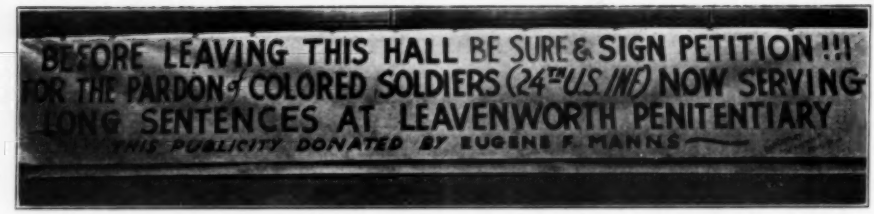
The Committee also announces that Mrs. Maggie L. Walker of Richmond, President of the Independent Order of St. Luke, has accepted the invitation to become a member of the Board of Directors. Mrs. Walker will succeed the late Mrs. Mary B. Talbert.

The business session at which these names together with the nine listed previously will be voted upon and at which time annual reports of officers and branches are to be rendered will be held at two o'clock. The mass meeting instead of being held as usual that evening will be held on the preceding day, Sunday, January 6th, at 3:30 P. M. at the Renaissance Casino, 138th Street and Seventh Avenue. The speakers on that occasion will be Congressman L. C. Dyer, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and James Weldon Johnson.

Both meetings are open to members and the general public to which a cordial invitation is extended.

THE 24TH INFANTRYMEN

ON December 1 more signatures to the petition asking pardon for the fifty-four men of the 24th Infantry confined in Leavenworth Prison for alleged participation in the Houston Riots of 1917 had been received at the National Office than were received during the entire campaign in 1921 when 50,000 names were handed to the late President Harding. As has already been told in the December CRISIS a nation-wide enthusiasm has been aroused in these cases. Fraternal organizations, churches, women's clubs, civic bodies and branches of the N. A. A. C. P. entered whole-heartedly into the campaign with amazing results. The Philadelphia Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. led on December 1 with 9,000 signatures sent to the National Office, the Newark Branch was close behind with 7,000, Chicago and New York followed with 5,000 each, while Denver, Jersey City and Kansas City, Mo., came next with 3,000 each. In each of these cases only partial returns have been made while many other cities have made no report as yet. Requests for petitions are yet pouring in. From all indications the committee will take to Washington two hundred thousand signatures and perhaps a quarter of a million, showing the overwhelming sen-


BEFORE LEAVING THIS HALL BE SURE & SIGN PETITION !!!
FOR THE PARDON of COLORED SOLDIERS (24TH US INF) NOW SERVING
LONG SENTENCES AT LEAVENWORTH PENITENTIARY
THIS PUBLICITY DONATED BY EUGENE F. MANNS

A METHOD EMPLOYED BY THE CHICAGO BRANCH TO SECURE SIGNATURES

timent that exists for freeing these men. The presentation to the President will take place as soon as all the petitions are gathered. The date will be announced through the press. It is hoped that a committee composed of representatives of all organizations that have worked in this campaign may be sent to Washington to make the presentation of the petition to President Coolidge.

THE AMERICAN PEACE AWARD

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been asked by the American Peace Award, created by Edward W. Bok, to assist in conducting in January a wide, popular "referendum" upon the plan chosen by the Jury of Award. The Award, as is known, offers $100,000 for the "best practicable plan by which the United States may cooperate with other nations to achieve and preserve the peace of the world".

The Jury, which consists of Elihu Root, chairman, Edward M. House, James G. Harbord, Ellen F. Pendleton, Roscoe Pound, William Allen White, and Brand Whitlock, will announce the selection of the winning plan about January 1. According to the conditions of the Award, half of the $100,000 is to be paid to the author of the winning plan as soon as the Jury has selected it, and the other half, "if and when the plan, in substance and intent, is approved by the United States Senate; or if and when the Jury of Award decides that an adequate degree of popular support has been demonstrated for the winning plan".

A "referendum" will, therefore, be taken on the winning plan during the month of January to give the people of the country a direct opportunity to express their considered opinion upon it. This "referendum" will be conducted through the daily and weekly press, the eighty-eight national organizations, civic, educational, professional, religious and industrial, forming the Cooperating Council of the Award, of which our own organization is a member, and many other city and state organizations.

We are glad to recommend our participation in what promises to be the widest expression of popular opinion ever attempted in this country. Our magazine has not the space to print the winning plan, but it will appear in all the important newspapers throughout the country. On the bottom of this page you will see a coupon for voting on the plan. *I earnestly urge all our members to vote promptly* and return the coupon to the offices of the Award.

I believe that our organization is deeply interested in the question of what the relation of our country to the rest of the world shall be, looking toward the prevention of war, and I hope that each one of our members will feel a personal responsibility in embracing this opportunity of expressing a direct opinion upon it.

COUPON

Name .....
Address .....
Are you a voter? .....
Do you approve the winning plan in substance? (Write yes or no) .....
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
Please return to American Peace Award, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The Looking Glass

CROWDED OUT

NOBODY ain't Christmas shoppin'
Fur *his* stockin'!
Nobody ain't cotch no Tukkey,
Nobody ain't bake no pie,
Nobody's laid nuthin' by;
"Santy" ain't got nothin' hid
Fur his Mammy's little kid.

Seem like eve'body rushin'
An'er crushin',
Crowdin' shops an' jammin' trolleys,
Buyin' shoes an' shirts an' toys
Fur de *white* folks' girls an' boys,
But no hobby-horse ain't rockin'
By *his* little wore-out stockin'.
He ain't quar'lin', recollec',
He don't spec'
Nuthin'—hits his not expectin',
Makes his Mammy wish, O Laws!
Fur a *Po Folks* Santa Claus,
Totin' *any* kind er toy
Fur his Mammy's honey-boy!

ROSALIE M. JONAS.

* * *

LITERATURE

COUNTÉE P. CULLEN in *The Bookman*:

That brown girl's swagger gives a twitch
To beauty like a queen;
Lad, never dam your body's itch
When loveliness is seen,
For there is ample room for bliss
In pride in clean brown limbs,
And lips know better how to kiss
Than how to raise white hymns,
And when your body's death gives birth
To soil which spring shall crown,
Men will not ask if that rare earth
Was white flesh once or brown.

* * *

THE judges of the Poetry Society of America's Undergraduate Poetry Contest for 1923, Alice Corbin, Carl Sandburg and Witter Bynner, announce that the prize of $100 has been awarded to Maurice Lesemann of the University of Chicago for his contribution, "In the Range Country". The first of the twelve young poets to receive honorable mention was Countee P. Cullen of New York University whose poems have often appeared in The Crisis. He was one of the 700 undergraduate competitors representing sixty-three colleges and universities. His poem, "The Ballad of the Brown Girl", is 200 lines in length.

"WHITE MALE"

REPRESENTATIVE HARRY E. DAVIS of Cuyahoga County, Ohio writes us:

At the November election of this year the citizens of Ohio took occasion to rid their organic law of some ancient rubbish and to bring it into conformity with the Federal Constitution. The State Constitution has always limited the elective franchise to "white male" citizens notwithstanding the 15th and 19th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and has stipulated that the qualifications of an office holder shall be that of an elector.

At the last session of the legislature Representative Harry E. Davis sponsored and secured the passage of a proposal to amend the Constitution by striking out these two futile words. On November 6th the voters of Ohio adopted the proposal by 100,000 majority.

Of course, the matter was largely one of sentiment, but the result is none the less gratifying to colored citizens who resent even the form of discrimination, and to women voters who are engaged in a nation wide campaign for political sex equality. And this is especially true in view of the fact that in 1912 a similar proposal was decisively defeated. However, it is only fair to say that in 1912 the proposal was much involved with woman suffrage and prohibition.

No open opposition to the proposal appeared but newspaper reports indicate that in some sections of the state the Ku Klux Klan was hostile. No doubt they feared its adoption would jeopardize "white" supremacy.

WITH THE MUSICIANS

THE press has been strikingly lavish of late in its praise of Negro musicians. Roland Hayes' appearance in America and especially with the Boston Symphony has elicited wide comment. Philip Hale writes of Hayes' performance in the Boston *Herald:*

It is very seldom that a Symphony audience is permitted to hear as admirable singing as that yesterday which came from Mr. Hayes. Not only is the voice beautiful in itself; vocal skill, aesthetic taste and genuine feeling also distinguished his performance. There is a tenor who can sing Mozart's music, and not merely in correct and academic fashion. Notes had their value; they also had significance. His singing of the scene from "The Flight Into Egypt"—and here Berlioz is at his best in intimate expression—was characterized by

a fine appreciation of the text, by sympathetic simplicity. The Negro Spirituals were sung with a fervor, a pathos, a conviction that were free from the taint of sentimentalism or of exaggeration.

* * *

Lawrence Brown is gaining distinction in London. A correspondent writes us:

Mr. Brown who, to quote the London *Telegraph*, has shown "the unfailing musicianship which is the hallmark of the expert accompanist" has made an enviable place for himself in London's musical circles. During his four years in London, Mr. Brown has accompanied several English artists among whom are John Goss and Mark Raphael the young *liederer* singer. He has lately accompanied John C. Payne at his recital of Negro songs and his own charming voice joining in added to the delightfulness of the concert. He has played also for the pupils of Mr. Raymond Muehlen, the world renowned singing teacher in his summer course. On several occasions he has taken part in concerts with Roger Quilter, the famous English composer. In all of this work Mr. Brown with his delicate touch and finished technique, has proven an accompanist of the very first rank, as his accompaniments, to quote again a criticism from the London *Telegraph*, are both "accomplished and comprehending". In composition Mr. Brown is a thorough musician and on several occasions he has played his own arrangements of Negro spirituals with the celebrated cellist, Miss Beatrice Harrison.

LAWRENCE BROWN

* * *

Helen Hagan appeared recently in recital at Omaha, Nebraska. The critic on the *Omaha Bee* says of her work:

Helen E. Hagan opened the program with a splendid performance of the Chopin B flat minor, "Scherzo," and also contributed two groups and the Lizst "Hungarian Rhapsodie" No. 2. Miss Hagan has a brilliant and facile technic, a warm, sympathetic tone and both clarity and power. She interprets with refined taste and intelligence and an interesting note of individuality. She has much emotional warmth and genuine musical feeling. Her fine tone was amply demonstrated in the Liszt "Dream of Love" and much fire and brilliancy was found in the G Minor prelude of Rachmaninoff. . . . The Hungarian rhapsodie was given with brilliance and power.

* * *

Florence Cole-Talbert appeared on the same program with Miss Hagan. The *Bee* comments:

Mme. Cole-Talbert astonished with the pure beauty of her tone quality. Her voice is fresh, warm and vibrant and there are many fine points to her singing. An excellent pianissimo was found in "Ave Maria," by Schubert, and her width of range and the full glory of her high tones was found in the "Swiss Echo Song," by Ecker. Some of her most artistic singing was done in "The False Prophet," a delightful little encore. Another number in which she was heard at her best was the well known and extremely difficult aria, "Caro Nome," from Rigoletto. Here she sang the dazzling showers of brilliant melody with a flexibility, surety of pitch, technical proficiency and intelligence that did her the greatest credit.

* * *

S. Laciar of the Philadelphia *Evening Ledger* writes of a recent recital given by Carl Diton in Musical Fund Hall:

Mr. Diton chose a program of great difficulty and performed it all well. The chief number was the tremendously difficult B minor sonata of Liszt, which was exceedingly well played. . . . . He showed a sympathetic and beautiful tone, which was under excellent control and all the technical facility which was required by the exacting program which he performed.

* * *

To this Fuller Waldo, critic on the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, adds:

A feature of Mr. Diton's program was a group of Chopin numbers. He had evidently given much thought and care to the preparation of his program, which was heard with appreciation by a large audience. He plays with much feeling, and produces a good tone with plentiful power at his command when he chooses. The perceptive use of the pedals, so necessary to the proper interpretation of Chopin, was a distinctive feature of his performance, which reflected credit on Mr. Diton himself and on his preceptor.

THE BRIDE AND GROOM *Mercer*

Dr. L. Lezama, Atty. C. L. Smith, Mr. B. Cyrus, Dr. N. Chestnut, Dr. W. Alexander, Dr. N. Thorne (Best Man), Atty. H. Rucker.

¶ Beauty, elegance and rare taste marked the nuptials of Miss Mae Robinson, granddaughter of the late Madame Walker, and of Dr. Gordon Jackson. They were married on November 24th at Saint Phillip's Episcopal Church in New York, the Rev. Hutchins Bishop officiating. The Bridal Party was very large consisting of a Matron of Honor, a Maid of Honor, five bridesmaids, a best man, six ushers, three flower girls and a tiny ring-bearer, Vertner Tandy, Jr. The bride was given away by Attorney F. B. Ransom of Indianapolis The bride's costume was purchased of colored people and made entirely by them. It consisted of a gown of chiffon beaded with pearls over bride's satin. The veil of tulle was attached to an Egyptian pearl headdress and caught with orange blossoms. The bridesmaids wore cream colored Chantilly lace over silver cloth and coronets of braided silver cloth. Miss Robinson's mother, Mrs. A'Lelia Walker wore a marvellous gown of gold metallic cloth which had been designed and made in Paris; while the Matron of Honor displayed a gown of silver cloth and a chiffon hat. The wedding might well be termed an international af-

fair since 9,000 invitations were issued to friends and acquaintances throughout this country and in British Guiana, the British West Indies, Canada, England, France, Haiti, Liberia, Nigeria, Panama and the Philippines. One thousand of these invitations went to personal friends and the others to supply stations to reach the 40,000 agents who conduct the vast Walker business. Many social functions were staged in Miss Robinson's honor before the wedding, including a linen and a kitchen shower, a luncheon, parties, a pre-nuptial dance, theatre party, and a stag for Dr. Jackson. This entertaining reached of course its culmination in the exquisitely conducted reception which was held after the ceremony at Villa Lewaro, Mrs. A'Lelia Walker's home on the Hudson. After an extended tour, Dr. and Mrs. Jackson will reside in Chicago.

DR. AND MRS. JACKSON *Mercer*

¶ Abyssinia, sometimes known as the Empire of Ethiopia, has been admitted to membership in the League of Nations, on the signature of a declaration by which she agreed to

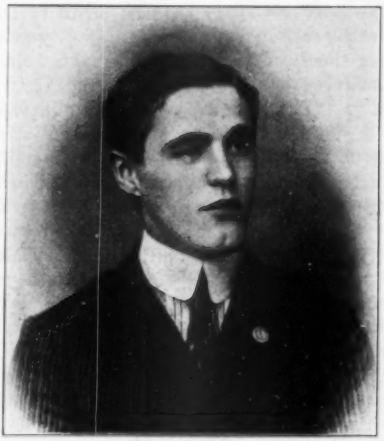
Mercer

Misses Mildred Randolph, Louise Jackson, Consuelo Street (Maid of Honor), Marion Moore, Mrs. Norman Harris (Matron of Honor), Misses Eunice Hunton, Anita Thompson. Flower girls: Katherine Williams, Betty Payton, A'Lelia Ransom.

COUNT ROBERT LINANT DE BELLEFONDS, DEDJAZMATCH NADEOU, ATA FASSIKA

eliminate slavery as rapidly as possible. The head of the Abyssinian delegation, Mr. Dedjazmatch Nadeou expressed the hope that Ethiopia would make rapid progress now that she was to mingle more intimately with the rest of the world. His speech was in the Ethiopian language and was subsequently translated into French and English amid much applause.

¶ Arthur V. O'Leary is a brave man. He has rescued nine people from drowning, among them a Harlem colored boy. For this last act Mr. O'Leary received a bronze medal and $25 from the Life Saving Benevolent Association. This is the fifth medal which he has received from this organization. He also stopped a runaway horse for which he received a certificate of commendation from the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission.



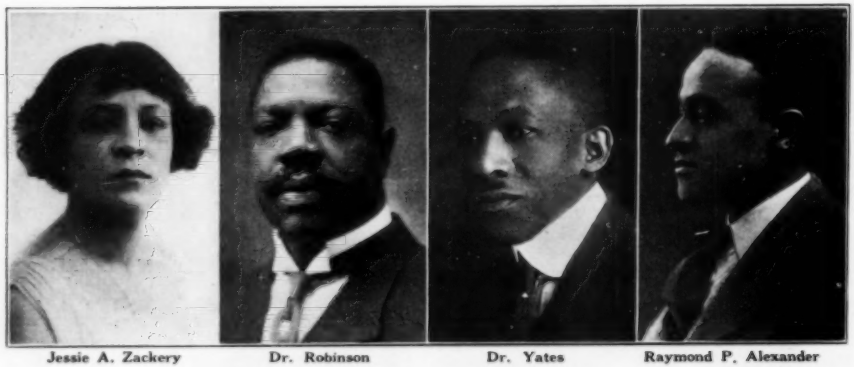
MR. O'LEARY

¶ The title role of "Emperor Jones," Eugene O'Neill's famous play, is being enacted in Paris by Benglia, the Algerian Negro actor. The French première took place at the Odéon in Paris under the direction of Firmin Gomier who is a well known producer in France. The play was chosen as America's finest dramatic production and the opening night was the event of the season. The French Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Public Instruction were in attendance.

Underwood & Underwood

BENGLIA

¶ Another artist who has received honors in London is Jessie Andrews Zackery, coloratura soprano of Denver, Colorado. Her



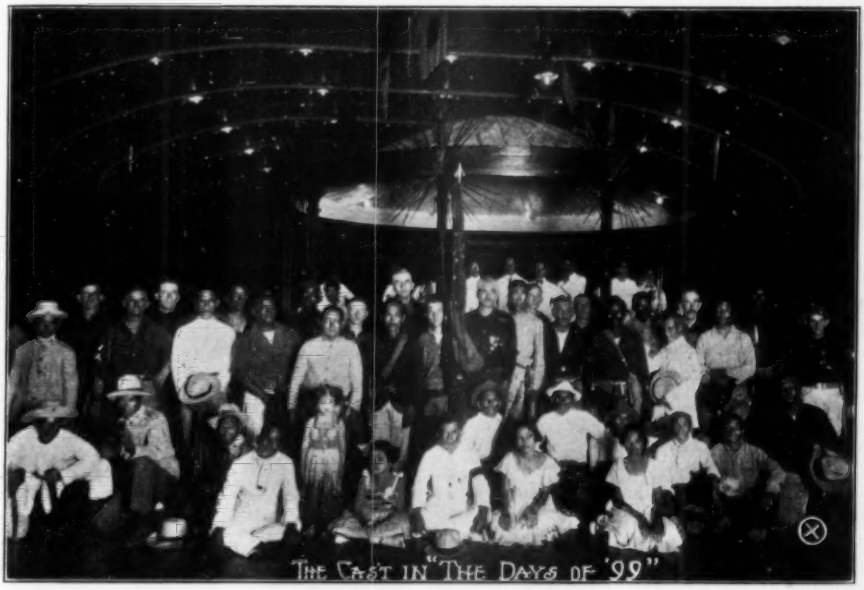
Jessie A. Zackery | Dr. Robinson | Dr. Yates | Raymond P. Alexander

musical preparation has been unusually thorough for she studied voice, theory and harmony at the Western Institute of Musical and Dramatic Art under Robert Wall and later came to New York for further work with Oscar Saenger during the season of 1920. She at once established herself in the musical circles in New York City, receiving a vaudeville engagement on a New York circuit in which she was permitted to use operatic arias and classic songs and also to have her own accompanist. This was an unusual concession to a colored singer. Mrs. Zackery has high ideals. After finishing this first circuit she was immediately re-engaged and when it was suggested that she use "Deep River" set in popular arrangement she refused on the ground that she would not thus desecrate the folk songs of her people. Then she played and sang this song for her manager in its proper setting. As a result she was requested to sing it as she desired. Her teacher in London was Professor Muehlin the famous vocal teacher. He has pronounced her voice as one of singular beauty: "She simply opens her mouth," said he, "and her voice pours forth; it is delightful." Mrs. Zackery has an offer to return to London in the Spring to do concert work with Lawrence Brown as accompanist.

¶ One of Philadelphia's new and promising lawyers is Raymond P. Alexander who has recently established his offices in the Brown and Stevens Bank Building. Mr. Alexander's career has been unusually inspiring; it is full of honors for which he has worked very hard. In 1917 he graduated from the Central High School with a scholarship to the University of Pennsylvania. From this institution he was graduated in three years with high honors. In 1920 he entered the Harvard Law School and was appointed assistant in the Department of Economics at Harvard University for one year under Professors Day and Burbank. During the summers of 1921 and 1922 he studied in the graduate school of Columbia University in Political Science and Government. He was graduated last June from the Harvard Law School with a high record. He immediately began his practice in Philadelphia, starting in the offices of John R. K. Scott, whose fame is more than local. Now Mr. Alexander has his own offices. On Thanksgiving Day Mr. Alexander and Dr. Sadie Tanner Mossell were married. Mr. Alexander is the National Vice-President of Alpha Phi Alpha and his wife is the National President of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority.

¶ The death of Dr. Blyden William Yates of Kansas City at the age of 27 closes a life of unusual scholastic distinction. He had entered the University of Kansas at the age of 15 and was a Bachelor of Arts at 18. He then studied medicine at North Western University in Chicago whence he was graduated in 1919. After serving two years as an interne at City Hospital No. 2, St. Louis, he began the practice of medicine in the city of Chicago where unfortunately he met with a motor accident which resulted in his death. He had many civic interests and was a member of the Kappa Alpha Psi.

¶ In spite of the fact that Dr. A. R. Robinson, one time pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church of Philadelphia, has been dead now for many months, we cannot let the new



THE CHARITY BALL AT MANILA

year enter without some mention of his useful and interesting life. He was a native of Florence, S. C., and a graduate from the Collegiate and Theological Departments of Benedict College in that State. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Guadalupe College, Seguin, Texas, and also from Benedict College which later testified at his funeral: "Among the many sons sent forth from Benedict to bless the earth none from our records has done more than Rev. A. R. Robinson." Dr. Robinson had pastored at many churches—at the St. Paul Baptist Church, Laurens, S. C., Silver Spring Baptist Church, Pendleton, S. C., and at St. Paul Baptist Church, Anderson, S. C., where he built a new edifice at a cost of $50,000. In 1908 he accepted a call to the Calvary Baptist Church of Chester, Pa., and while there he made one of the strongest congregations in the State by uniting the Temple Baptist and Calvary Baptist Churches. In 1912 he came to Philadelphia where he did his greatest work as the successor of the venerable Dr. W. H. Phillips. During his pastorate the membership of the church grew from 700 to 3,000; the church itself was renovated and a new organ installed at a cost of $10,000. He founded and built a home for the old and infirm of the church which cost more than $33,000 and established the Shiloh Building and Loan Association. He was Chairman of the Foreign Missionary and Education Board and induced it to educate and train a native African, Ernest Ndlozi who was sent back to establish a Shiloh Baptist Church, the salary of which was to be paid by the Shiloh Church in Philadelphia. Dr. Robinson's activities were both national and international for he was also Vice President of the World's Baptist Alliance in Edinburgh, Scotland; also he was National Grand Master of the York Rite Masons, elected in 1920. While pastor of Shiloh he raised $200,000. He was director of the Brown and Stevens Trust Company. He is survived by his widow and two children.

¶ Several hundred veterans of the days of '99 have given a charity ball at the Santa Ana Cabaret in Manila, P. I. The entertainment included a sham battle, a march through Northern Luzon and several scenes of the first days spent by the Americans in the Philippines. Captain T. N. McKinney was manager.

¶ Professor Richard S. Grossley was formally installed as president of The State College for Colored Students, Dover, Dela-

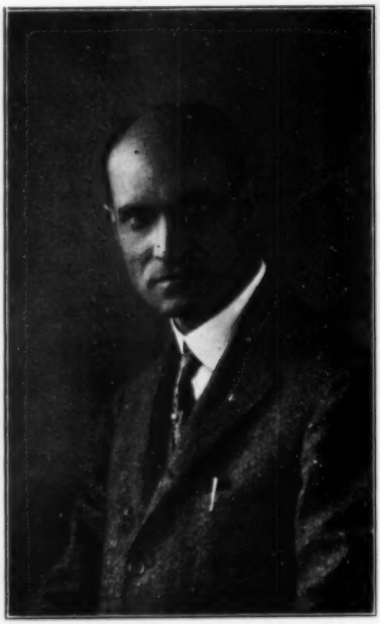
ware, on Friday afternoon, November 30, 1923. The ceremonies were held in the College Chapel which was filled to capacity. The new president succeeds Dr. W. C. Jason who served as president for 28 years, and resigned several months ago. The speakers included Governor William D. Denny, Dr. H. V. Holloway, State Superintendent of Education, Dr. John M. Gandy, President Virginia N. & I. Institute, and Dr. Joseph H. Odell, director of the Service Citizens.

¶ Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard writes us on behalf of the Columbus Hill Day Nursery at 224 West 63rd Street which is situated in a section of New York where there is a Negro population of 10,000. Among this group are many mothers — some widowed, some deserted—who go out from their homes and work by the day in order to earn a living for themselves and their children. The Nursery aims to help these mothers by providing care for their children. The Nursery is housed in a school building of the Children's Aid Society and there is room for 45. A registered nurse is in charge. During 1922, 5,462 children were cared for. A nominal fee is charged for every child, but in addition to this income the Nursery needs $6,000 a year for its maintenance and for the salaries of workers. Lack of funds very nearly compelled the closing of the Nursery during the summer but this calamity was happily averted. Checks should be made payable to Mr. Frederic G. Topliff, The American Exchange National Bank, 128 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

¶ Little twelve-year-old Bernice Butler is "the world's youngest" xylophone player. She is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James Butler of Pittsburgh, Pa., and has already made several appearances in public.

¶ The J. C. Price High School of Salisbury, N. C., cost $60,000. It is built of brick and steel, contains two stories and a basement, 14 classrooms and an auditorium seating 650. Its building was made possible by the voting of a half million bond issue by Salisbury citizens.

¶ The annual report of Dr. Carter G. Woodson, director of the Journal of Negro History, informs us that, thanks to the appropriations of the Carnegie Corporation and the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial, for the first time in the history of the



PRESIDENT GROSSLEY

BERNICE BUTLER

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Association its researches have taken a definite course. For the present the staff is engaged in the study of the Free Negro prior to 1861 and Negro Reconstruction History. With the assistance of a copyist, Mrs. C. B. Overton, the Director has been preparing a report on the Free Negro in the United States. This report will be decidedly statistical, giving the names of the persons of color who were heads of families in 1830, where they were living, how many were in each family, how many slaves each owned, and what relation these free Negroes sustained to the white people. In this same field, but developing special aspects of this history, are Mr. George F. Dow and Miss Irene A. Wright. During the year the Association has had one worker in Negro Reconstruction History Mr. A. A. Taylor, an alumnus of the University of Michigan and an A.M. of Harvard. The Association continues its interest in the work of training young men for scientific investigation. As far as possible it will follow its program of educating, in the best graduate schools with libraries bearing on Negro life and history, three young men supported by fellowships of $500 each from the Association and such additional stipends as the schools themselves may grant for their support.

MRS. ALICE B. WEBB

¶ In Chicago Mrs. Alice B. Webb has been appointed Deputy Municipal Clerk to do service in the welfare division of the Morals and Boys' Court. She is a native of Galveston, Texas and received her education in that state. She has always been interested in Civic activities. In 1908 she went to Denver and there formed the women into a strong political organization. Later she moved to Chicago where she again entered civic work. In the Morals Court all commercialized vice is handled. About eight hundred cases (girls and women) are brought there each year and almost 40% of these are colored. Mrs. Webb's interest and sympathy with the individuals whom she met in this court attracted the attention of court attaches and they urged that she be made a permanent worker.

¶ One of Denver's probation officers is Mrs. Lucy W. Anderson, an appointee of Judge Ben Lindsay. She is also file clerk for the court and was a worker of the Council of Defense during the World War.

¶ The Ninth International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement will be held at the Cadle Tabernacle, Indianapolis, Indiana, December 28, 1923, to January 1, 1924. Student delegates will come from every part of the civilized world to this gathering but the greater number will come from the colleges and universities of North America. At the first convention in 1891 there were no Colored American Delegates but the last convention at Des Moines registered eighty-five colored schools and colleges with three hundred students and teachers, men and women. One hundred and three colored schools and colleges are invited to send delegates.

¶ The National Benefit Insurance Company has issued a beautiful little booklet tracing the growth of the company from its earliest days. There is also an interesting and inspiring biographical sketch of Samuel Wilson Rutherford which tells of his metamorphosis from a farmer boy in Georgia to the position of Secretary and General Manager of the National Benefit Company of Washington, D. C. The booklet in which all this is told is beautifully printed and illustrated and bears an exquisite cover in colors. It is entitled "A Modern Jack and the Beanstalk" and is well worth reading.

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